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# ARARAT.

A SEARCHLIGHT ON ARMENIA.

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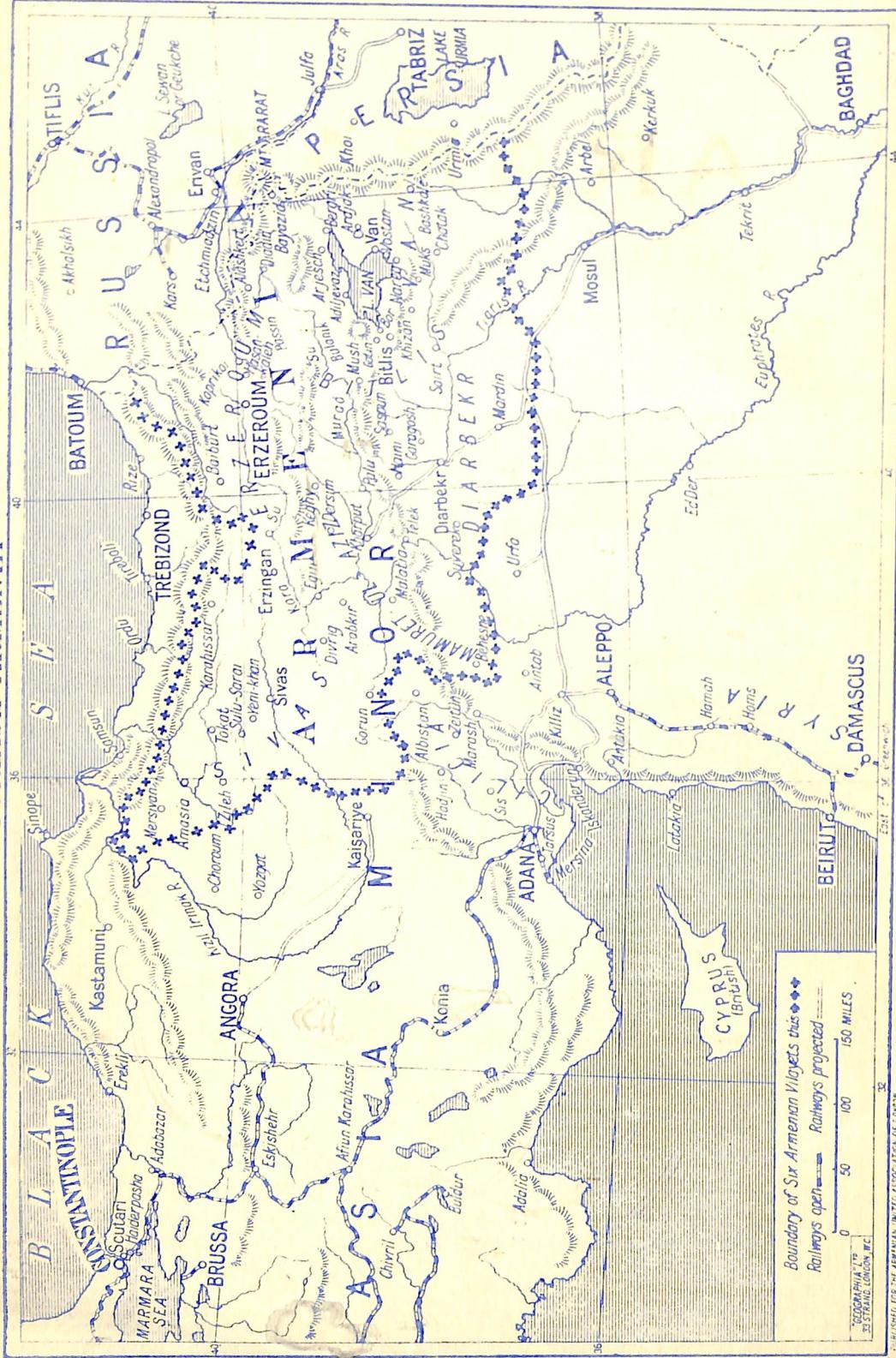
Annual Subscription 6 Shillings for 12 Numbers.

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All communications affecting this periodical should be addressed to the Hon. Secretary, The Armenian United Association of London, 32, Richmond Gardens, Shepherd's Bush, London, W.

# TURKISH ARMENIA



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- JUN 2009

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## Current Notes.

With this, our third number, we are printing on the second page of our cover an excellent and up-to-date map of Turkish Armenia, showing the six vilayets and Cilicia, which contain a large proportion of Armenian inhabitants, and where misrule is prevalent in an exceptional degree. This map will appear in all future numbers, and, we doubt not, will be appreciated as a guide to the current happenings which are dealt with in this periodical.

Those of our readers who desire to have copies of the map on a somewhat larger scale, mounted on cloth and folded in case, should refer to the notice under the head "Announcements" at the end of this number.

Sir Edward Grey, in his memorable speech in the House of Commons on August 12th, touched on the axiomatic truth that all human, as well as inanimate, machinery needed rest. Hence, the Ambassadors of the Powers were dispersing for a holiday; and Sir Edward himself proposed to enjoy such leisure as is compatible with the ordinary work of the Foreign Office. Clearly the Armenian Question is intended to have a rest too. We do not grudge the high functionaries, who have tided over a tempestuous and critical period, the necessary relief from their labours. But where is the rest for the harried and persecuted Christians of Anatolia, to whom life and honour and property are as chaff blown by the wind? We still believe there are human hearts of the right stuff in high places, and doubt not that the invigorating influence of moors, golf-links and watering-places will before long give a fresh impetus to the work of solving the Armenian problem. The solution is long overdue—promptness and decision are imperative.

While on holidays and rest, it is meet to mention that not only Ambassadors, but also the ordinary Member of Parliament is on the move, and the Near East will be reconnoitred for more precise knowledge in anticipation of the next meeting of Parliament. We know that the Hon. Walter Guinness and Mr. Noel Buxton are of the number. The latter is accompanied by his brother, the Rev. Harold Buxton. We rejoice at such holiday tours, and cannot but expect good to come from knowledge gained on the spot.

The holiday fever has also attacked our indefatigable Honorary Secretary, and we may look forward in our future issues to interesting and vivid accounts from the Near East from "Our Own Correspondent."

A deputation from Adrianople, for the purpose of urging on the Powers that the city should remain under Turkish rule, has visited some of the capital cities of Europe, and was received at the Foreign Office in London by Sir Louis Mallet. It consisted of representatives

of the Turkish, Greek, Armenian and Jewish communities of the place. *Quot homines, tot sententiae*—but we would rather not be asked to fathom the paradox, or tragi-comedy, of an Armenian being included in the deputation.

We quote the following "Reuter" telegram from St. Petersburg, Sept. 6th:—

"A telegram from Khoi (Persia) states that a Russian detachment under Colonel Didenko, which has arrived at Tergever, owing to collisions having occurred there between Kurds and Christians, was fired upon by Turkish troops, who had advanced into Persian territory in the neighbourhood of the village of Chakki.

"The Russian troops were compelled to engage in an obstinate fight, which lasted about four hours and ended in the precipitate flight of the Turks, whose losses were very heavy. The Russians had two men killed and six wounded."

Khoi is in Persian Armenia and will be found on our map, situated on the north of Lake Urmia and east of the province of Van. The encounter may be a mere frontier incident—it may not. *The Times* Correspondent at St. Petersburg is at pains to minimise the incident, and says that "official circles seem to consider the affair to have been accidental and unlikely to lead to any serious diplomatic consequences." Rifles do go off at times by accident, and it is possible, too, for the "accidental" fusillade to have lasted four hours. In any case it is the first glimpse of a protecting arm being held out against depredations by Kurds with Turkish connivance. Can it be that at last "there ariseth a little cloud out of the sea, like a man's hand"?

On Sept. 9th, the *Times* Teheran Correspondent supports his brother of St. Petersburg:—"The Russo-Turkish affray near Khoi originated in a dispute between Kurds and Christians." A "dispute" between Kurds and Christians savours somewhat of a misunderstanding between a wolf and a sheep. "Instructions have been sent to the troops on both sides to retire from the frontier. No serious consequences are expected." But what about instructions to the Kurds?

Wherever Armenians are to be found in any number, commemorative gatherings are being held this year in honour of the 1,500th anniversary of the invention of the Armenian alphabet, and the 400th anniversary of Armenian printing.

Armenian national spirit owes everything to the great work performed by St. Mesrop in the fifth century. It was the growth of Armenian literature, essentially of a religious tendency in its beginnings, and fittingly inaugurated by the translation of the Bible—held to this

day as a unique performance by theologians—that has cast a lustre round the Church of Armenia, the one powerful link which unites its members throughout the world.

It is our intention to refer more fully to these commemorative festivals in our next issue.

The British Armenia Committee, with Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., and Mr. Annan Bryce, M.P., as spokesmen, were responsible for a deputation which waited on Sir Edward Grey on August 14th with a Memorial urging reforms in Armenia. The Memorial, which is strong and to the point, without over-stating the case, is supported by prominent Englishmen, whose signatures ought to carry weight in any question of national policy. We are able to give the full text of the Memorial in this issue.

As we go to Press, news is received by wire that the Armenian Patriarchate at Constantinople, rendered vacant recently by the resignation of Mgr. Arsharuni, has been filled by the selection of Mgr. Zaven, Bishop of Diarbekir. The election is made by the Armenian National Assembly, and in this case 64 out of 82 votes of the deputies present were cast for Mgr. Zaven. The position of the Patriarch is an extremely difficult one, as he has to deal direct with the Porte in all matters of a political nature affecting Armenians in the Turkish dominions. A strong man, and one endowed with a superabundance of tact and diplomatic instinct is needed, and we have every reason to believe that the new incumbent will satisfy these conditions.

## Sincerity of the Powers.

In our last issue we gave a general view of the "Outlook" affecting the Armenian Question, and threw out the suggestion that Turkish Armenia should be formed into a buffer State under the suzerainty of Turkey, but subject to the controlling voice of Europe in the matter of administration. We hold that such a solution would be ideal, not only in the interests of Armenians, but also of Turkey and the Powers. The difficulty underlying such a solution, and it is no small difficulty, consists in the measure of harmony, or perhaps we should say, of the want of harmony, with which the Powers most interested in the solution, Great Britain, Germany and Russia, bring into play. We leave France out of the calculation, as we are convinced she would bring no obstacles to bear on any scheme which is designed for the well-being of Armenia.

### TURKEY'S STANDPOINT.

So far as Turkey is concerned, it is safe to say that she will never willingly submit to the dictation of the Powers, especially at this moment when she has regained a portion of her lost territory on the

European side of the Bosphorus. There are some of the better educated among the Turks who see things in their true perspective, and would perhaps be ready to save their country if they could ; but the mass of the Moslem population are fanatical to the extreme, and have an unreasoning hatred for Christians, who are to them fit subjects for plunder, and whose extermination is but one of the divine ordinances of their faith. It is these latter who constitute the driving force of the Ottoman Empire, and it takes no great insight to understand that without pressure from outside Turkey will never agree to the introduction of reforms in any part of her dominions. Such pressure may be financial, it may take the shape of armed intervention, but pressure it must be.

#### BARBARISM AT EUROPE'S DOOR.

In this twentieth century, when civilisation is extending to the remotest corners of the earth, and undeveloped regions are being prospected and brought within reach of human kind, it is an amazing anomaly that the picturesque, rich and fertile regions of Turkish Armenia, of ancient and historic interest, and within an easy distance of Europe, should be relegated to methods of mediaeval barbarism, and its interesting and sturdy stock permitted to be well-nigh exterminated. It may be idle to talk of the Turk taking a saner and less bigoted view of the trend of modern ideas. If he did, he would not be long in being convinced that reforms mean his salvation, and that Armenians would be foremost in assisting him to develop his empire—those very Armenians who, in spite of persecutions and massacres, have preserved their loyalty, have indeed stood bravely in the forefront of their battles while their womenkind were being carried away by the Kurds in their absence.

#### HUMANITY AND DIPLOMACY.

In talking of pressure, we are confronted with the three interested Powers, Great Britain, Germany and Russia. We appealed in our last issue to their humanitarian instincts, but we are conscious that humanity alone is not the sole moving factor in world politics. We have to face the material interests of nations, their mutual jealousies—how to satisfy the one and to allay the other is the difficult task of diplomacy. Would that the Powers could sink these for the higher calls of humanity—but will they, or can they? The outcome seems indeed in the lap of the gods.

#### ARMENIA AND GERMANY.

Armenia, isolated in past ages, occupies at the present time a vantage ground of considerable importance. Its high table lands and fertile valleys can be made to command the regions to the south and west, extending from the Mediterranean to Baghdad—a tract of country of immense natural resources, which has passed rapidly under the influence of Germany. It is to the interest of the latter Power to

conserve the Armenian population, orderly, thrifty and endowed with the highest instincts for commerce and industry, for the development of her great enterprise in Asia Minor—the Baghdad Railway. These people are the best of colonists, and, apart from their share towards the development of German enterprises, Germany cannot afford to see their country pass under the domination of another European Power, so as to become a commanding menace to her projects.

#### ARMENIA AND RUSSIA.

Russia has in the past made the mistake, aggravated no doubt by the proceedings of revolutionary parties, who were goaded on to action through Turkish misrule, that any assistance to Turkish Armenia; short of occupation, would raise the hopes of Armenians in her own province of the Caucasus, and induce the nation to combine as a separatist body. Her aloofness during the massacres of 1895 must certainly be attributed to suspicions of such possibilities. We need not recall the names of eminent Armenian statesmen and generals who have done brilliant service for Russia; nor need we cast any doubts on the loyalty of Armenians who are Russian subjects. The law-abiding instincts of these people are of common knowledge and beyond cavil. Within recent years, however, there has been an awakening in Russia, and the tendency of that nation has been distinctly pacific towards Armenians; so much so that any attempt at massacre on an extended scale, such as happened in the past, would be the immediate signal for the entry of Russian troops into Armenia; and such entry would inevitably mean permanent occupation.

#### POWERS AND THEIR INTERESTS.

Here, then, we have the crux of the whole situation. Germany, with her rising influence in southern Anatolia and Mesopotamia, is reluctant to see a strong Power like Russia hold Armenia.

Russia, on her part, is reluctant to see the influence of any other Power established in Armenia, which she looks upon essentially as her own sphere, and ready to be absorbed by her on the disruption of the Turkish Empire.

As far as Great Britain is concerned, her leanings are to the side of Germany, so as to safeguard her sphere in southern Persia, by preventing the formation of a threatening Russia on the north. There is also the inclination on her side to prevent the dissolution of Turkey, based on the fact that she herself is a great Mohammedan Power.

Of the three Powers, then, Great Britain and Germany would seem distinctly on the side of reforms in Armenia with Turkish suzerainty, and under the control of the Powers; while Russia would prefer a waiting game until the fruit is ripe for the plucking.

## TURKISH INTERESTS.

It is obvious on which side Turkish interests lie, and it is high time that the obstinacy of the Turk, if he is to fall into line at all, gave way to a ready acceptance of the inevitable, by allowing the Powers to work out a scheme of reforms on her behalf. We would then be able to judge of the sincerity of the Powers, and how far, and by which of them, humanity is made subservient to the greed for political capital.

In the midst of this jarring of interests the long-suffering Armenian has to bide his time.

G. M. G.

## Vanishing Armenia.

M. S. Olginin, the special correspondent of the *Berjevia Vedomosti*, a well-known Russian journal, has recently visited Armenia on behalf of his paper. Not only were great obstacles thrown in his way by the Turkish authorities, but he was subjected to violence, and was even imprisoned for a short period.

Olginin strongly protested against the treatment meted out to a correspondent whose duty was simply to give an impartial account to his paper of the conditions under which the inhabitants of Asiatic Turkey live—a journalistic venture which the Turks altogether resent. After his return M. S. Olginin delivered several lectures on his Armenian travels in Tiflis, Bakou, and other towns, of which a short account is here given.

### I.

Many people have asked why I label the results of my wanderings and investigations in Asia Minor with the title of "Vanishing Armenia." I will now answer that question.

It is not necessary to be a diplomat to understand how the present state of affairs in Asia Minor follows from the Balkan War. The belief that the Ottoman power has been considerably weakened by its recent reverses in European Turkey cannot be entertained by those who know the facts. The heart has not been reached, and there are many physicians working at this moment, not only to avert any complication, but to restore the vitality of the sick man. The arming of Islam against the hated Christian races in the near future is a foregone conclusion.

In Macedonia with its four million inhabitants, Turkey has lost an industrious people, and a country more fertile than Asia Minor. The loss of so great a population will undoubtedly affect her military strength. Her war footing was 300,000; her peace footing now falls to 200,000 in Europe. But to balance these losses she has gained advantages, namely, the sympathy and the actual support of other Mohammedan countries. Moreover, the national spirit has been awakened in the Islamic world; and hence the Armenian question has assumed great importance, as with it are involved other questions of

considerable moment. If Armenia is to continue to exist, immediate action must be taken. Thus the condition of the Armenians and the whole matter becomes a Russian question. One of the forces that compel the attention of Russia to that question is the Kurdish problem.

Hitherto very little has been known about the Kurds and their movements. They are the remnant of the hordes who wandered formerly through Asia, in a perpetual state of war for war's sake against many settled races. As a nation the Kurds have never had any political life; all we know of them is their Iranic origin. Turkish political conditions have kept them uncivilised, sunk in ignorance, without a written language or an alphabet of their own. It is their nature to plunder; they are a war-like people; nevertheless they are endowed with some good qualities. They have been established in Turkey since 1504, but have never been subject to the Turks. At certain periods they had their own rulers, who had the right of coining Kurdish money. Their only relation with Turkey was to give Kurdish support in time of war.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century Russia was extending her boundaries in the direction of Asia Minor. At that time the Kurds showed symptoms of dissatisfaction with the state of affairs in Turkey, and rose against the Porte. They came into serious collision with the Turks in 1814 at Bayazid, and afterwards in 1824, 1834, 1844, etc.; but the Turkish Government succeeded in suppressing their advances for a time. In 1854 the situation again became grave; and again, in 1878, shortly before the Russo-Turkish war, the hatred felt by the Kurds for Turkish rule found violent expression. The moving spirit in this last rising was the well known Kurdish chief Hassein Bey, who still lives, and only awaits his opportunity to avenge the wrongs suffered by his tribe under the Turks.

The Porte appears to have been at a loss for the necessary means of dealing with the Kurds, when Sultan Abdul Hamid appeared on the scene. A far-sighted statesman, he perceived that by a little tact they might still be not only rendered loyal, but converted into allies for the execution of his plans. He formed separate Kurdish regiments and gave them many privileges. At the same time he despatched emissaries to Kurdistan with special instructions from himself that no means should be neglected of stirring up the Kurds against the Christian populations of Asiatic Turkey and rousing their religious passions. It was by these means that Sultan Abdul Hamid succeeded in gaining their affections.

### II.

After the close of the Hamidian régime the Young Turks with their "Constitution" dealt summarily with the Kurds. Some privileges granted by Abdul Hamid were withdrawn; lands which in reality belonged to Armenians were taken from Kurdish holders. Some of the Kurdish chiefs, however, have entered the service of the Government, have attained to responsible posts, and, taking care that their

sons should receive a good education, have reared a new generation full of patriotic enthusiasm for the formation of an independent Kurdistan.

Hence the importance of this question to-day, bearing as it does on Armenia, especially from the point of view of Russian interests.

The Kurdish leaders instinctively felt that sooner or later the Young Turkish party would curtail their rights and defy their national spirit, and they considered the present moment—*i.e.*, the moment of Turkey's weakness—as opportune for action. The movement assumed a practical shape and several parties of a patriotic character were formed. Each division had a strong leader, by whose name the whole party was known. For example, Abdul Gater's party was that of the extreme nationalists. Abdul Rigar came next with a considerable number of followers. Bederkhans also had their own parties. Among these leaders Abdul Rizak was the only highly educated Kurd. These various parties soon sank their differences, and in May, 1912, a general Kurdish assembly was held in which all were represented. It was unanimously resolved that there should be only one strong central party to represent the Kurdish nation as a whole.

This party had to prepare the way for a general rising. Their tactics were the same as those of the Albanians: first to refuse to pay duty or taxes, then to dismiss all Turkish officials, and finally to establish a provisional government and proclaim Kurdistan a free State. The first part of this programme has been carried out, and the Kurdish leaders are now waiting for a propitious moment to give the signal for a general rising.

In the present state of Kurdish affairs, the Armenian question tends to become more and more complicated. Some of the Kurdish leaders have assumed a comparatively friendly attitude towards the Armenians, realising that the Kurds have more in common with the Armenians, their neighbours, than with the Turks, and that it is to the interest of both Armenians and Kurds that a friendly relation should be established between the two.

The mass of the Kurdish people, however, feel and think otherwise, and the leaders have no means of imposing their views absolutely on their followers.

There is also another section, led by ferocious Kurdish Begs, whose only calling is that of pillage and brigandage. They are formidable in numbers and power, and are a terror to the country. Their one idea is to rob Armenians and to pillage and ruin their homes; to shed Armenian blood is to them merely a natural instinct. They can be restrained neither by the Turks nor by the leaders of the various Kurdish parties. During 1912—1913 the number of Armenians exterminated under their reign of terror has increased by sixty per cent.

(To be continued.)

## Armenia's Woman Champion.



It is with pride and pleasure that we present to our readers a life-like portrait of Miss **EMILY JANE ROBINSON**, who has done so much for the cause of Armenia during the last few months by her sympathetic and spirited attempts to rouse British apathy. Scarcely a week passes without a letter appearing from her in some important British newspaper, whereby she rivets forcefully on the attention of the British public the harm that Great Britain has done in the past to the Armenian cause, and the urgent necessity that lies on this country of clearing its conscience of a false position.

Miss ROBINSON's antecedents fit her well for the humanitarian campaign she is waging. She is the only daughter of the late Sir John R. Robinson, who was a journalist of note and managed the London "Daily News" for more than a quarter of a century as the leading Liberal daily paper; whose household she superintended until his death in 1903. A member of the Lyceum Club and of the Peasant Arts Society; working as an art student at Bushey and at various London studios; travelling in France, Italy, Switzerland and Scandinavia, and more especially in Germany; having done some literary work, chiefly translations from the German; and being interested in the study of foreign languages, Miss ROBINSON has combined in herself those multifarious callings which conduce to the broadening of one's outlook on nature, and to the building up of a mind, sensitive and sympathetic, which revolts from injustice and needless human suffering.

Armenia and Armenians are fortunate in having such a champion to place their cause before the British public, and it is fit to record here that her contributions to the "Daily News and Leader," the "Daily Chronicle," the "Manchester Guardian," and the "Spectator," have drawn from numberless unknown British correspondents from all parts of this country their heartfelt thankfulness for her advocacy of a downtrodden nation, and their prayers that she should continue in her course until justice is done. Selections from her recent letters will be found on another page.

## Memorial in Support of Reforms in Armenia.

Through the courtesy of the British Armenia Committee we are able to give the full text of the Memorial submitted to Sir Edward Grey on August 14th, together with the signatures attached to it. The deputation presenting the Memorial was introduced by Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., and Mr. Annan Bryce, M.P., as representatives of the British Armenia Committee.

We, the undersigned, desire to call the attention of our fellow-countrymen and of His Majesty's Government to the duty which Europe owes to Armenia. The people of the Armenian race have long suffered as cruelly as any of the hitherto subject races of European Turkey, and it must be remembered that it is the action of the Great Powers, and especially of Great Britain, which has caused them to remain under Turkish misgovernment for the last thirty years and more. In 1878 Russia occupied the Armenian provinces, and proposed to hold them until Turkey had established a tolerable government. The Berlin Treaty forced Russia to evacuate them, and the Powers accepted promises of reforms which Turkey has never carried out. Great Britain in particular, by the Cyprus Convention, took pledges from Turkey for such good government; undertook to defend the Turkish territories in Asia Minor; and received Cyprus as a basis to enable her to carry out her obligations. From that day to this no real reforms have been carried out. On the contrary, the Armenians have suffered every form of misgovernment, and the most terrible massacres under both the old and the present Turkish regime. To the present day there is no safety for their property or lives, or for the honour of their women; and the flight into Asia of the Turks from Macedonia renders the danger threatening them even more serious than before.

An opportunity now occurs for the Great Powers to remember their duty to these suffering people, for whose position they are directly responsible.

Experience has shown that the only guarantee for the better government of any subject population in the dominions of Turkey lies in effective European control, *i.e.*, government by Governors and Officials appointed with the approval of the Great Powers answerable to them, and not removable by the Porte without the consent of the Great Powers. In pursuance of Article 61 of the Berlin Treaty, a scheme of reforms for Armenia on these lines was drawn up by the Great Powers in 1895; and that scheme, with scarcely any modification, is what the Armenians now demand. It would bring the blessings of good government not only to those of Armenian race, but to the still larger number of people who are neither Christians nor Armenians, but who live in the six provinces known as Armenia.

This is no question of taking territory from Turkey ; on the contrary, the Armenians earnestly desire to remain Ottoman subjects, if only they can obtain good government. In the war just ended they have fought for Turkey loyally and bravely.

That the Turkish Government may demur to such European control is possible ; but its immediate financial necessities will require a loan, or an increase of Customs duties, or both ; and for these it must look to the goodwill of the Great Powers. These have, therefore, ready to hand a means whereby they can secure the only real guarantee for reforms.

But if Turkey has learned any wisdom from all her troubles, she will need no compulsion, but will welcome European aid and control, without which she can do nothing. It is evident that nothing but good government in Armenia, and in Asiatic Turkey generally, can save that country from early dissolution.

That such a break-up of Asiatic Turkey would be of the greatest danger to the peace of Europe is another reason why the Great Powers should take the present opportunity of Ambassadorial and Financial Conferences to fulfil their long-neglected duty.

We urge that the British Government, as it bears historically the greatest responsibility, shall be first among them to see that this most urgent question is not left unsolved.

J. Allen Baker, M.P.	Rev. John Clifford.
A. C. Benson.	Mrs. Madelaine Cole.
W. Bramwell Booth.	Rt. Hon. Lord Courtney of
Sir Edward Boyle, Bt.	Penwith.
Sir Edward Brabrook.	Prof. W. Boyd Dawkins.
Robert Bridges.	Mrs. De Bunsen.
Rev. Stopford A. Brooke.	J. M. Dent.
J. Annan Bryce, M.P.	Sir A. Conan Doyle.
Lady Bunting.	Rt. Hon. T. R. Ferens, M.P.
Prof. R. M. Burrows.	Mrs. Alister Fraser.
Rt. Hon. Thomas Burt, M.P.	A. G. Gardiner.
Prof. J. B. Bury.	Edward Garnett.
C. Roden Buxton.	Prof. Patrick Geddes.
Rev. Harold Buxton.	H. N. Gladstone.
Noel Buxton, M.P.	W. G. C. Gladstone, M.P.
Sir W. P. Byles, M.P.	G. P. Gooch.
Hall Caine.	G. G. Greenwood, M.P.
Miss Edith Cantlow.	G. A. Hardy.
Rev. J. Estlin Carpenter.	Rev. J. H. Harris.
Lady Frederick Cavendish.	Frederic Harrison.
Lord Henry Cavendish-	Rt. Hon. Lord Haversham.
Bentinck, M.P.	The Rt. Rev. Bishop of Hereford.
Rt. Hon. Lord Channing of	Prof. C. H. Herford.
Wellingborough.	J. W. Hills, M.P.
The Rt. Rev. Bishop of	L. T. Hobhouse.
Chichester.	Rev. Canon J. W. Horsley.

J. Arthur Jutsum.	Rev. Canon H. D. Rawnsley.
Rt. Hon. Lord Kinnaird.	Rt. Hon. Sir John Rhys.
Hugh Law, M.P.	Rev. Canon C. H. Robinson.
I. S. Leadam.	Arnold Rowntree, M.P.
The Rt. Rev. Bishop of Lincoln.	Rt. Hon. G. W. E. Russell.
Sir Oliver Lodge.	Dr. V. H. Rutherford.
Arthur Lynch, M.P.	Miss Felicia R. Scatcherd.
J. A. Murray Macdonald, M.P.	Rev. W. B. Selbie.
J. Ramsay Macdonald, M.P.	Philip Snowden, M.P.
Miss Josephine Marshall.	Lady Henry Somerset.
D. M. Mason, M.P.	Harold Spender.
Rev. Canon Masterman.	Arthur G. Symonds.
Miss Constance E. Maud.	H. J. Torr.
Philip Morrell, M.P.	Dr. A. Russell Wallace.
Prof. Gilbert Murray.	Theodore Watts-Dunton.
C. T. Needham, M.P.	Rt. Hon. Lord Weardale.
T. P. O'Connor, M.P.	Sidney Webb.
Rev. Canon Bickersteth Ottley.	Rt. Rev. Bishop J. E. C. Welldon.
The Rt. Rev. Bishop of Oxford.	A. F. Whyte, M.P.
Stephen Phillips.	Mrs. Jane Whyte.
Eden Phillpotts.	Aneurin Williams.
Sir Arthur W. Pinero.	Penry Williams, M.P.
Arthur Ponsonby, M.P.	The Rt. Rev. Bishop of Winchester.
Rev. Archdeacon Beresford Potter.	Herbert G. Wood.
Sir W. M. Ramsay.	

## The Mohadjirs.

### I.—“ BOSTON MONITOR’S ” INTERVIEW WITH LIEUT.-COL. G. M. GREGORY.

The recent letter of the Armenian patriarch at Constantinople to the grand vizier, drawing attention to the precarious position of Armenian Christians, owing to the rapid influx of Mussulman refugees from Thrace and Macedonia into Armenia, has, once again, drawn attention to the Armenian question.

With a view to obtaining reliable information on the subject, a representative of *The Monitor*, as already reported by cable, called upon the president of the Armenian United Association of London, Lieut.-Col. G. Marcar Gregory, V.D., who was glad to give all the information in his power.

He said, I have here the last issue of “ *Pour les Peuples d’Orient*,” in which the whole question is dealt with, and in which the information we have received from many other sources is confirmed in every detail.

Well, what does the writer, Victor Berard, tell us? He says that the latest news from the vilayet of Adana and Cilicia speaks of the arrival of the first parties of Roumeliot and Macedonian *Mohadjirs*. These Pomaks and Turks, he goes on, all these Mussulmans of Slav and Osmanli origin, who fled before the Bulgarian invasion, crowded into Constantinople as long trains of cattle and of human beings, on foot, on horseback, in carts with solid wheels, driving their beasts before them, dragging along their wives and their old men, and carrying their children. Week after week they passed over the great bridge, to reach the boats which would carry across into Asia this vast crowd of the vanquished and the desperate. Now if these people have not spread themselves over the Armenian vilayets, where have they gone?

We have, however, evidence only too clear that they are pouring into Armenia, that they deliberately, and with the undoubted connivance of the authorities, choose districts inhabited by Armenian Christians, that these Christians are being dispossessed of their houses and land, and that the least resistance on their part results in wholesale massacre accompanied by the most cruel outrages.

You see, Mr. Gregory continued, the Armenians are absolutely helpless. They are not allowed to possess arms, and if even so much as a carving knife is found in their houses it is confiscated and the owners punished. This great horde of refugees which is now pouring into the country is armed—at any rate, after a fashion—and where the men have not already got arms they can very soon get them. As Victor Berard asks in another part of his article, is it likely that these famished people will refrain from raids upon the Christians, whom they regard as largely responsible for their sufferings, especially in this country of Adana, where the massacres of 1909 have left everywhere traces and memories?

Well, they are simply not refraining. Every day news reaches the patriarch in Constantinople of fresh outrages, and we have the most unimpeachable evidence of over 200 crimes of various kinds, many of them of the most cruel description, which have been perpetrated in Armenia during the last six months. The Armenian patriarch and the National Assembly at Constantinople have supplied the Porte with heartrending lists of arbitrary acts of misconduct on the part of the government's own provincial officials in their dealings with the Armenian community. It seems almost useless, therefore, to expect redress or hope for amelioration in regard to this latest phase of the wrong of centuries, unless the Powers are aroused at last to a sense of their responsibilities.

Almost exactly 35 years ago, Mr. Gregory continued, the great Powers, through their representatives at Berlin, set their hand and seal to this provision, which is the sixty-first article of the Treaty of Berlin, "that the Sublime Porte undertakes to carry out without delay the ameliorations and reforms demanded by local requirements in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians, and to guarantee their security against the Circassians and the Kurds. It will periodically make

known the steps taken to this effect to the Powers, who will superintend their application." Well, that is 35 years ago, and I have just described to you the condition of Armenia to-day.

Can you wonder that the Armenian Christians no longer put any faith in promises, and refuse any longer to allow the official formula, "perfect security and tranquillity reigns in the district" to blind public opinion in Europe to the facts of the case.

The Armenian people to-day, Mr. Gregory went on, are appealing to the civilized Powers of Europe for deliverance. No reforms, however much the Turkish Government may asseverate that it is willing to introduce them, will be of the slightest value, unless such reforms are under the guarantees and the direct control of the Powers, as repeated promises of a like nature have in the past half century proved to be worthless. Now that the Powers are engaged in watching affairs in the near East, with a view to insuring, if possible, a permanent peace, obligations of humanity, to say nothing of previous solemn treaty obligations, demand that their efforts should be directed towards the establishment of good government in Armenia.

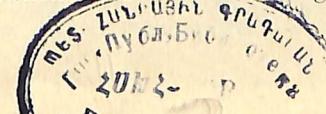
What the Powers have done in the past for the Lebanon, they can do equally well for Armenia; and unless some such course is adopted, it requires no great insight to foretell that the lasting peace which Europe is so desirous of bringing about will remain but a delusion, for Turkey will still have on her hands, to the eternal shame of European diplomacy, the "Armenian question."

## II.—EXTRACTS FROM VICTOR BERARD'S ARTICLE.

In the years 1874-5, the Russification of the Caucasus brought to Stamboul an exodus of Tcherkesse *Mohadjirs* of whom the Porte disengaged itself upon what were then called the vilayets of the Danube, upon territory that now forms part of the kingdom of Bulgaria. Enraged, famished, ravaged by disease, these *Mohadjirs* pillaged the vilayets. The "Bulgarian Atrocities," of which they were the principal authors, led to the Russo-Turkish war, to the invasion of Turkey in Europe, and to the mutilation of the Turkish Empire at San Stefano and subsequently at Berlin.

In the year 1908, the Austrian annexation of Bosnia drove towards Salonica an exodus of Bosnian *Mohadjirs*, whose numbers were increased by the proclamations posted on all hands by the agents of the Committee of Union and Progress. Some months later, it was the presence of these *Mohadjirs* in Macedonia which revived the civil and religious war that had been suppressed for a moment by the revolution of July; Christian bands took to arms, to be followed by the appearance on the scene of the forces of the Balkan League, and to culminate in the partition of Macedonia and Roumelia among the Christian States.

Pomaks and Turks, and Musulmans of Slav or Osmanli origin, who fled before the Bulgarian invasion, crowded into Constantinople as long trains of cattle and of human beings, on foot, on horseback, in



their carts with solid wheels, driving their beasts before them, dragging along their wives and their old men, and carrying their children. Week after week they passed over the Great Bridge, to reach the boats which would carry across into Asia this vast crowd of the vanquished and the desperate.

As might have been foreseen, in Asia there was nothing prepared for their reception ; the Porte had more pressing cares. What has happened to them during the last three or four months ? How great has been their destitution. What are their feelings of anger and bitterness against the Ra'as ? The Anatolian railway was ready : to get rid of them, the Porte had them loaded into trucks, which were going back empty, after bringing to Tchataldja the reserve troops of Turkey in Asia. It is probable that, stage by stage, they have passed southward all along the line, going further on as they were driven by hunger, and as they came to despair of ever seeing Europe again. Now they have crossed the Taurus mountains, and are finding their way into the Armenian towns of Tarsus and of Adana, and to the shores of the sea of Cyprus.

How will these poor wretches live after five months of exodus and poverty ? Who will give them land, and provide them with grain for sowing ? Who will feed them until the time of the next harvest, which for them cannot arrive before June 1914 ? How will these Europeans accustomed to the fairly cold mountains of their Roumelia, where they led a life half pastoral and half agricultural, how will they acclimatise themselves in semi-tropical Cilicia, in deltas of black and miry land which, to the north of the Levantine Mediterranean, constitute a symmetrical counterpart to the Egyptian delta, and which, protected by the Taurus mountains from the fresh winds of the north, are throughout the summer much more torrid than Lower Egypt ? These victims of their attachment to the Faith, these fugitives from a Christian victory, how will they conduct themselves as neighbours of Christians who are still subjects of the Sultan-Khalif ? If the Porte neglects to provide for their needs until the day comes when regular work can give them some security for the morrow, is it likely that these famished people will refrain from raids upon the Christians—in this country of Adana, where the massacres of 1909 have left everywhere traces and memories ?

## The Armenian Question.

“ ‘Tis the most distressful country ever yet was seen.”  
“ The Wearing of the Green.”)

With this verse “ Odysseus ” prefacing the last and in some respects most interesting chapter of his classic “ Turkey in Europe.” His description is, unhappily, still applicable to the Armenian districts of Asia Minor, and if Armenian suffering is quantitatively less than it was during the post-massacre period of Abdul Hamid's reign, the failure of the Committee of Union and Progress to fulfil the hopes raised by the revolution of 1908 and the rapid diffusion of education and distinctly

European ideals among the Armenians have made maladministration and oppression harder to bear than was once the case. The East has not yet tasted liberty, but she is beginning to have a dim notion of what liberty is, and to be more critical of misgovernment than ever in the past. It is, therefore, not surprising that the tension between the Armenians, both clerical and lay, and the Turkish authorities is growing greater, and that fears are expressed that it may lead to an explosion in Asia Minor. Before discussing the principal questions at issue between Armenians and Turks, it may be expedient to devote a few lines to the history of the Armenian vilayets since the Constitution. Readers of *The Near East* need not be told how the advent of regular government in the 'forties broke the power of the great Kurdish beys who had held the bulk of the Armenian peasantry in serfage ; how the Armenians, till the beginning of Abdul Hamid's reign, were known as the “ Millet-i-sadiké ” (the loyal nation), and were regarded by the Turk as a useful species of infidel, being thus enabled to obtain honourable advancement in not a few departments of State. Nor is it necessary to describe how growing civilisation begat a growing impatience of Hamidian methods of government among the educated Armenians ;

... and gave a crafty tyrant the opportunity to smite them hip and thigh in pursuance of his Pan-Islamic policy. The Constitution was hailed with joy by the Armenians. They supported it, and the party that had chiefly contributed to its establishment, with enthusiasm, but their hopes were dimmed by the odious and unprovoked massacres of Adana, and have almost disappeared amid the general pessimism that has overtaken Turkey since the battle of Lulé Burgas. Yet it must be admitted that after the Adana massacres the Committee of Union and Progress did for a time bestir itself on their behalf. The Gendarmerie in the Armenian provinces were strengthened ; some of the persons guilty of rape and murder at Adana were hanged (an event which caused no small surprise among the Christians, although the principals mostly got away scot free), and the Government promised to disarm the Kurds and to settle the “ Agrarian question.”

But the fatal mistake of the new régime in concentrating its attention on Arabia and Albania told upon its policy in Asia. The call for troops for the Albanian, Druse, Yemen, and Malissor campaigns prevented the Committee from paying much attention to the Kurdish chiefs, with the result that, when the Gendarmerie organisation began to break down—which it soon did, owing to the introduction of politics and “ Freemasonry ” into the commissioned ranks, the haphazard methods of the War Office, and the practical abolition of European control—the Armenians were left exposed to the armed Kurds, who regarded them as their natural prey, and were, moreover, inclined to resent their claims to the restitution of the lands seized by them after the massacres of 1894-1896. The war with the Balkan League produced a gratifying proof of Armenian loyalty in the readiness wherewith the Armenian soldiery rallied round the Star and Crescent. But the Kurds, like Gallio, cared for none of these things ; the absence of Armenian soldiers from the villages encouraged them to fresh acts of pillage and

murder ; the Government—which cannot even protect the salt works belonging to the Public Debt Administration near Van against the local Kurds, who are all armed—contented itself with proclamations and appeals to the humanity of the up-country Moslems. Whether elder statesmen or “Young Turks” have been in power the result has been the same. Nothing has been done to relieve the Armenian population from the haunting sense of insecurity which weighs upon them, and the land question remains unsettled through lack of funds. The protests of the Patriarch have been civilly heard by three Grand Viziers, but have produced no result, and the upshot of it all is that some of the Armenian leaders are beginning to wonder whether loyalty to the Turks is a very remunerative virtue. As our Constantinople correspondent puts it in his letter which we publish to-day, “Turko-Armenian relations are unfortunately still strained.”

In spite of the growing resentment of the Turkish Armenians and the attempts that have been made both by Germany and by Russia to enlist their support, the majority of them are still apparently inclined to “wait and see” before taking any decisive step. There are many good reasons for patience. As Armenians are almost all disarmed, renders it difficult for their chiefs to contemplate any sort of action that might provoke an anti-Armenian movement among the armed Moslem population or arouse the suspicions of the Government, which is preternaturally suspicious and strongly adverse to criticism.

Meanwhile the Armenians have lost faith in Turkish parties. The curious duality of the Committee of Union and Progress, now a “progressive” body anxious to introduce reforms, now a highly Chauvinistic secret society of Turkish “nationalists,” and sometimes both together, has not tended, as our Constantinople correspondent remarked last week, to increase Armenian confidence in its good faith ; and the Armenians put no particular trust in “elder statesmen,” and insist on foreign control of the long proposed reforms that are some day to be introduced into the administration of the six vilayets. The chances are, therefore, in favour of the continuance of a waiting policy on the part of the Turkish Armenians. But this cannot last for ever, and if Europe fails to take any steps to enforce Article 61 of the Treaty of Berlin this year, trouble—and very serious trouble—is to be anticipated from the Armenian revolutionaries. All, therefore, depends on the Powers. Should they take vigorous measures to compel the Porte to adopt a programme of reforms which will really guarantee the security of the Turkish Armenians against the Kurds and to take the land question seriously in hand, in which case it matters little whether the policy of compensation is followed or that of restitution, the Armenian community may enter on a period of relative peace and prosperity. If they fail or refuse to adopt radical measures of reform on the ground that the “sovereignty of the Sultan must not suffer any infraction,” the Armenians must be forced willy nilly to turn to Russia for assistance and exchange the risk of massacre for the danger of absorption—a less unpleasant operation for the individual at all events. In that case German and Russian interests may clash so formidably as to bring Armageddon on an unimaginative world.

“The Near East” (July 11).

## Will Russia Move?

“I think that if intervention comes by force it will probably not be by the Concert of Europe as a whole ; but it may be that one of the Great Powers or another may be so provoked that it may take matters into its own hands in its own interests, and the others may deem such action justified. *Under certain circumstances that may become a very real contingency.*”—Sir Edward Grey.

The question of a fresh war in the Balkans is narrowed down to a single point—Will Russia move ? In certain circumstances she is almost bound to, although, of course, she would rather receive an express mandate from the Powers. It is at least significant that her ships have been removed from the Bosphorus into the Black Sea, as though to prove to Constantinople how deeply she resents the Turkish invasion of Bulgaria. Probably St. Petersburg does not care for Bulgaria so much as for her own interest, despite the fact that she united with Austria-Hungary in a wish to make over Kavala to King Ferdinand. But it is her own interests which may drive her to act ; and if she does, much more will be involved than turning the Turks out of Adrianople. For it is an obvious piece of strategy to threaten the Turkish possessions in Asia Minor, and Anatolia, Armenia, and the rest are quite sufficiently disturbed already without any incentives provided by a Russian invasion. This we take it is the really serious element in the present problem. The aim of the Concert when the Treaty of London was arranged was to establish some security for the Ottoman Empire in Asia, under the supposition that she had to relinquish her dominion in Europe. The Powers, in fact, proceeded on the line of least resistance. The first Balkan war had resulted in the discomfiture of Turkey. Constantinople—a city envied by many nationalities—was for purposes of general convenience to be left in the hands of Ottoman rulers, with just sufficient strip of territory round it to enable it to be adequately defended. But Turkey was to be confirmed and safeguarded in her Asiatic possessions, with an implicit guarantee that the Powers would help her—with monetary assistance and in other ways—to consolidate her authority on the eastern side of the Sea of Marmora. Now, if Enver Bey and his followers upset this arrangement, they must be prepared to take the consequences. If they persist in opposing the will of Europe, then Europe has no other alternative than to leave them to the wrath of the offended Russians, and if the result be war then their last state will decidedly be worse than their first. If Turkey still possesses some statesmen capable of taking long views, we cannot but hope that they will realise how extremely perilous is the course to which the ambition of Enver Bey has committed them. The Ottoman Empire cannot be too often reminded that financially—and, indeed, in most material ways—she

leans on the goodwill of the Powers. It would hardly be too much to say that the whole Turkish Empire exists on sufferance as the debtor of Europe. For the moment, no doubt, there seems to have dawned a chance for the recovery of lost provinces, and for the discomfiture of recent foes, but that momentary advantage can only be purchased by extremely serious losses hereafter. Perhaps the mere threat of Russian intervention may cause Constantinople to stay her hand. But if it fails to do so, then we may confidently look to the Great Powers, who are certainly not disunited on main points, to prove to the obstinate Moslem that their decisions cannot be disregarded with impunity.

(*The Daily Telegraph.* 20th August.)

#### WHY ARMENIA TURNS TO RUSSIA.

The proverbial straw which shows the direction of the wind is, perhaps, more often overlooked in the field of international politics than anywhere else, yet nowhere else is it supposed to be more assiduously sought. Just such a straw is to be seen in the present attitude of Armenia toward Russia. It is daily becoming clearer that Armenia would be ready to welcome the intervention of Russia to save her from the unspeakable persecutions of the Turks and Kurds. Such a changed attitude, although it may be interpreted to mean many things it certainly does not mean, may be taken as an indication, significant indeed, of the terrible nature of the tyranny to which the Armenians are being subjected.

To any one who knows Armenia and her history, and who also knows Russia and her reputation, the proposal is at first sight inexplicable. It is recognized that conditions must be desperate indeed which have compelled such a decision. That these conditions are desperate there is no room for doubt. That the existence of such conditions, and above all the callous suppression of the truth in regard to them, which has been carried on for months past, is something more than a disgrace to civilization cannot be denied, but that the remedy is to be found in St. Petersburg it is more than permissible to doubt. Ask an Armenian what he considers to be his greatest national heritage and he will answer, his church. It is at once his history and the common meeting ground of all his race; and his most devoted efforts for centuries past have been concentrated on the preservation of its integrity and freedom. This is a simple historic fact, and, as far as the possible results of a Russian occupation of Armenia are concerned, it is really the only fact that it is necessary to consider.

It may be accepted that any attempt on the part of any power to interfere with the Armenian church would at once rouse Armenians as one man. It may be accepted that one of the first results of a Russian domination would be just this interference. It is again a simple matter of history that the Russian orthodox church is, to say

the least of it, intolerant of divergence. The methods of such organizations as the "Union of Russian People" will not bear investigation for a moment, and whilst it is scarcely conceivable that the horrors of Kieff would be repeated in Armenia, nevertheless the tendency towards ecclesiastical tyranny is too well defined a characteristic of the Russian church to afford any hope that it would not be exercised in Armenia. Such a proposal promises, therefore, little in the way of a permanent settlement of the Armenian question. It is doubtful whether it would even relieve the situation temporarily.

(*"C.S. Monitor," Boston.* Aug. 29.)

#### Reform Scheme for Armenia.

Besides the pourparlers which for some time have been in progress between the Ottoman Government and several of the Great Powers, with a view to securing to the former the services of European officials—administrators, financial experts, gendarmerie officers, &c.—who would be employed in carrying out the so-called reform in the administration of Asiatic Turkey, other negotiations have been initiated with Armenia as their special objective.

Since last autumn there have been many signs that the Armenian question is about to be reopened. The movement of protest against the Government of Constantinople, now in course of development, is probably more serious than in the critical years of 1894-96. Then the Armenians stood up against the Hamidian terrorism, and their rising was of a revolutionary character. It was thought that a change in the governmental methods of Constantinople would be sufficient to quell it. To-day, following upon the revolution of July, 1908, the most drastic changes ever dreamed of have been brought about in the personnel and the professed political ideas of the central government. In spite of that fact, the Armenians realise that they are not better off than at the time of the old régime, and that no amelioration coming from within the Empire is to be expected.

#### "SEPARATION" AS MOTTO.

Consequently, if no remedy is forthcoming quickly, their motto will become before long "Separation." The grievances of their nation are no longer expressed in a disorderly manner by revolutionary leaders and by revolutionary exploits; they are uttered by their official leader, the Catholicos who resides at Etchmiatzin (on Russian soil) and acts at Constantinople through the agency of the Armenian Patriarch and of the National Assembly. It will be easily understood that the measure of support which these moderate men or bodies are finding in the European chanceries is greater than was received eighteen years ago by the revolutionary leaders.

Already a new fact of considerable importance has occurred : the reconciliation of the Armenians with Russia. For the last seven years Prince Vorontzoff-Dachkoff, the Viceroy of the Trans-Caucasian region, has been consistently working to gain the sympathy of the 1,600,000 Armenians who live under his government. Last summer the Catholicos himself went to St. Petersburg, and received at the hands of the Tsar the highest Russian Order. All the vestiges of the fierce persecution of 1906 have been wiped out. The churches and religious properties have been restored to their lawful owners, the establishment of Armenian societies is authorised, the publication of Armenian books and papers encouraged, &c.

#### A SOLID FRONT.

In short, whereas eighteen years ago the Armenian movement lacked organisation, purpose, leaders, and strong support from outside, whereas it encountered the veiled opposition of the Russian Chancellor, Prince Lobanoff, who feared the idea of an Armenian Bulgaria interposing herself between Russia and the Southern Sea—to-day the Ottoman Government is confronted with a solid mass of three millions of people, half of them living on its own territories, extending from the region of Adana to the Russian Trans-Caucasus, all of them claiming guaranteed reforms, united under the guidance of the Catholicos, the Patriarch, and the National Assembly, and supported by powerful Russia. Such is the change which has taken place.

The main claim put forward by the Armenians aims at the granting by the central Government of effective guarantees against the attacks of the Kurdish populations, as well as at the application of a system of decentralisation and of local autonomy. Last autumn the first steps were taken by the Patriarch, but no result was obtained, and the Patriarch sent in his resignation as a protest. Last May the National Assembly forwarded a memorandum urging upon the Turkish Cabinet the necessity of action. The reply returned by Mahmoud Shefket Pasha was : "In order to repel the incursion of the Kurds we want both men and money. As long as the Balkan situation has not been settled, we cannot divert our resources from Europe," &c. To wait. To wait again. That is the only word that has ever come from Constantinople.

#### RUSSIA'S INTERVENTION.

It is in those circumstances that the interference of Russia occurred. On June 7, M. Sazonoff took the initiative by asking the Cabinets to entrust their Ambassadors in Constantinople with the drafting of a scheme of reforms, based upon the memorandum of May 11, 1895, which was elaborated by the then French, Russian, and British Ambassadors, and which, from lack of sufficient support by the Powers, was never put into operation. Organisation of international control, so that a programme of reforms, once agreed to, shall be sincerely carried out : such was the gist of the scheme.

Of course, it cannot be hoped that the Powers will treat the Armenian question on its merits alone, without consideration for their own interests. As is well known the Armenians are to be met in important numbers in the Adana and Alexandretta districts, which are called sometimes "Little Armenia." The regions for which reforms are being elaborated cross the tract of the Baghdad Railway. Consequently Germany is deeply interested in the whole discussion. As the Porte is pledged to reform the administration of Armenia, not only by the provisions of the Treaty of San Stefano (concluded with Russia) and of the Convention of Cyprus (concluded with England), but by one of the clauses of the Treaty of Berlin, to which all the Powers are signatories, all the Cabinets have an equal right to participate in the pourparlers.

#### RIVAL PROPOSALS.

For some weeks the dragomans of the Embassies have met and they are discussing a proposal of which the First Dragoman of the Russian Embassy, M. Mandelstamm, is the author. In opposition to that scheme Germany and Austria are in favour of the general project of reforms prepared by the Turkish Government being taken as a basis for the discussion. In order to retaliate, Russia, as we had occasion to say, objects to the employment of foreign officials by Turkey. There are other considerations which tell against the Russian proposition. The system of reform sanctioned by the Powers in 1895 implies the existence of international machinery of a very cumbrous character. If put into practice, it would probably break down owing to the lack of real unanimity among the Powers. Six or seven years ago, while attempting to reform Macedonia, the statesmen of Europe succeeded in creating two excellent institutions, a financial control and an international gendarmerie. Their working was highly successful. Why not revive them in Armenia ?

Whatever may be said of the merits and demerits of any particular scheme, the issue at stake is very clear. Either Europe, acting as a body, will be able to solve the problem on conservative lines, and then peace will be secured ; or it will fail in the attempt, and then the difficult question of the Asiatic succession of the Turks will be opened.

(*"The Daily Telegraph," Aug. 26*)

## Latest News from Armenia.

We print below a few only of the items of news of a depressing character which continue to be reported to the Patriarchate at Constantinople from the various Armenian provinces.

From the Bishop of Bitlis, July 19th.—Abraham Parseghian, an Armenian, of Nörschen, district of Khizar, has been murdered by Kurds while reaping his crop. No notice of the crime has been taken by the authorities.

From the Bishop of Van, July 27th.—Russon, an Armenian of Khatchan, district of Bergri, Van, while on a visit to his sister in the neighbourhood, was murdered near the Kurdish village of Goli-goj.

From the same source, July 28th.—Krikor Gagossian, of Guidris, district of Muks, Van, on his way to help his men harvesting in his fields, was attacked by Kurdish neighbours not far from his home, and literally cut to pieces. Eleven bullet wounds and seven knife cuts were discovered on his body, while his eyes were gouged out—a state of affairs which even struck the Turkish police with horror. There is reason for believing that one, Hadji Hassan, of the village of Haratantz, is implicated in the crime, as he could not tolerate the growing prosperity of the murdered man. The victim being a Christian, Turkish justice takes no interest in the matter, and no measures have been adopted to discover the murderer.

From the Bishop of Mush, August 10th.—During the celebrations of the 1,500th anniversary of the invention of the Armenian alphabet, and the 400th of Armenian printing, about 6,000 Armenians from neighbouring provinces met to do honour to the inventor of the alphabet in his birthplace, the village of Ashtishat, near Mush. While the celebrations were being conducted in a lawful manner, the Turkish police intervened and arrested some of the prominent members of the gathering, Dr. Pasternajian, ex-member of the Turkish Chamber of Deputies, Mr. Rostom, Inspector of Schools at Erzeroum, and others, and lodged them in the prison at Mush. They were released after three days, only on the strong protest of the Patriarch at the Porte, a *communiqué* being issued by the latter admitting a “misunderstanding.” Such high-handed and groundless proceedings against prominent and respectable Armenians are of common occurrence, while the town of Mush is allowed to be infested with brigands of the worst type, who have the police as their paid accomplices.

From the Bishop of Adana, August 22nd.—Riza Aga, a Turk of Adana, about 45 years of age, who was imprisoned recently for having violated Marie Boghossian, an Armenian child of eight, has been released, in spite of his crime being proved by medical testimony.

August 20th.—The heads of the Armenian community at Rodosto and Malgara, where massacres recently took place after the Turkish re-occupation, inform the Patriarchate that large bodies of Armenians are leaving those towns, having lost all confidence in the Turk.

From the Bishop of Bitlis, August 23rd.—Missak of Kark, and Kaspar of Bostin, villages of Bitlis, the two Armenians who had been kidnapped by the brigands of the notorious Sheikh of Khizan, and for whom a large ransom was demanded, have been put to death in consequence of the relatives being unable to pay the ransom.

From the Bishop of Keghy, August 24th.—Madame Nabhandian, the wife of the Armenian Inspector of Schools of the district, vilayet of Erzeroum, while travelling to Erzeroum, was attacked by six mounted Turks. The entire caravan was looted, and her maid, an Armenian girl, eighteen years of age, was violated by the robbers. All protests have as yet had no effect.

## Letters of Miss E. J. Robinson.

For want of space we print below two only of the letters of Miss Robinson, which she has addressed to the various newspapers:—

### I.

#### THE PLIGHT OF ARMENIA.

While attention is riveted on the miserable war that is going on between the Balkan States may I be allowed to put in Armenia's claim to practical help? The Armenians are the only Christians left in the power of Turkey, and their plight is indeed a deplorable one. From letters recently published in the *Daily News and Leader* and also from private information the state of Armenia appears to be nearly as bad as it has been during any period of the sad history of the country, which is saying a great deal. Does it not appeal to the conscience of Europe that a civilized people should be living in terror of their lives, that labourers cannot go to work in the fields for fear of assassination, and that quiet citizens should be murdered in their beds? Many instances have occurred lately in various parts of Armenia, and the news has been reported by the Bishops, of the killing of priests, of the mutilating of peasants by cutting off their limbs, of stealing whole flocks of sheep by the Kurds, of the killing of travellers by Turkish soldiers, and of every kind of persecution imaginable. I can give names and dates of the above occurrences. The policy of the Turks appears to be to try to make life unendurable for the Armenians and so force them to give up their possessions and leave their country. Every week parties of strong young men emigrate to Russia or leave for the United States. They can bear such an existence no longer. Over and over again has Turkey promised to institute reforms in Armenia, and the responsibility for their failure rests especially on England. The 61st Article of the Treaty of Berlin, drafted by the British plenipotentiaries, reads as follows: “The Sublime Porte undertakes to carry out without further delay the ameliorations and reforms demanded by local requirements in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians, and to guarantee their security against the Circassians and Kurds. It will periodically make known the steps taken to this effect to the Powers, who will superintend their application.”

After this by the "Cyprus Convention" England declared that she would protect and reform Turkey in Asia in conjunction with the Sultan, the price for this compact being the island of Cyprus, which England obtained on that occasion. When will England see to it that the reforms above referred to are carried out? Ought we not to be thankful for the blessings of peaceful homes and a safe Government; and if our Christianity is worth anything shall we not see to it that such blessings are extended to the Armenians? It is because the latter are naturally so peace-loving and law-abiding, and also because their powers of endurance are so great, that they have borne quietly long centuries of persecution. The brain-work of the country is done by Armenians. No Turk understands working the telegraph or electric light or engineering, yet the officials are all Turks and no Armenian can obtain redress for any wrong that may be done him. There will be no peace in Armenia till a European governor is appointed (no matter what his nationality), who shall be nominated by the Sultan and responsible to the European Powers. Then, and then only, will Armenians be able to go about their daily business and possess their homes in safety. They do not ask for or want autonomy. They simply plead for justice and good government, which are the birthright of the meanest and poorest of King George's subjects—I am, Sir, &c.,

EMILY J. ROBINSON.

35a, Elsham Road, Kensington.

"*Spectator*," July 26.

## II.

### ARMENIA AND APATHY.

At this holiday season, when so many families are gathered together for enjoyment, will you let me plead in your columns with English parents that they should listen to the piercing cries of agony and misery that are coming from Armenia, where untold wrongs and cruelties are rendering so many Christian homes desolate that might be as happy as English homes were the government of their country a safe one to live under? I quote the following from letters which have reached me in the last few days. The Turks on July 21st fired the summer orphanage residence of the American missionaries, which stood only ten minutes distant from Adana. Despite all attempts to extinguish the flames, the entire building was burnt down in two hours. Hundreds of orphans whose fathers were killed in the horrible massacres of 1909 are thus rendered homeless for the second time. On the same day Hovhanies Kojavakian, an Armenian, was killed on his way from

a wedding feast at Adana. He leaves a widow and three children helpless and destitute. This is only one of many murders of unarmed men which have taken place lately.

Is it any wonder that in the face of such chaos and anarchy thousands of Armenians are leaving their homes for Russia or the United States. Emigration has of late assumed such dimensions that the Patriarchate has appealed to all Armenians throughout Turkey not to forsake the land of their fathers, and to cling steadily to their homes, looking forward to better days, which are sure to dawn soon. It remains to be seen what effect such an appeal will have upon the despairing people who, when able to defend themselves against a Moslem robber, are disarmed by the Turk, and when trusting to the latter do not obtain any protection whatever. Dr. Shmavonian, in a letter to *Houssaper*, the Armenian paper published at Cairo, on July 15th, wrote, "Haleb is the highway, one might say the gate, of Anatolia and the greater part of Armenia. Every day we are spectators of endless caravans of Armenian emigrants. Every week some twenty or thirty vehicles full of emigrants arrive, and the same number depart, mostly for America, men, women, and children in a pitiable condition, forming a heartrending spectacle. These poor people trust themselves to strangers, to fearful deprivations, and to caprices of chance. To see those bright children, the hope of our nation, who were to form our succeeding generation, disappearing unconsciously while clinging to the ragged clothing of their mothers, with their eyes fixed on the uncertainties of oceans beyond the horizon is heartrending. No massacre could so certainly destroy us as this woful stream of emigration."

In 1878, by the Cyprus Convention, and also indirectly by Article 61 of the Berlin Treaty, the Government of England pledged itself to assist Turkey with reforms in her Asiatic territories. The English Government takes no notice of what goes on in Armenia. England, when it comes to the point, however, is governed by the will of the people. If the people insist on anything being done the Government must do it. Will English people not rise and with one voice insist that the reforms provided for in Armenia thirty-five years ago shall be carried out without more delay? It is for the English Government either to act or to decline to do so. The existence of the oldest civilised race, the oldest Christian nation, is at stake. At any rate, let English people see to it that no more of their money goes to swell the coffers of Turkey, where officials are paid to murder men, outrage their wives, and render orphans for the second time homeless, until the government of that country is put on a sound basis and is administered partly by Europeans who ought to be responsible.

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